IN MEMORIAM.

JAMES A. HARDIE,

U. S. Army.

To Genl. C. C. Augur
from
Miss Hardie.

99 West St.
Georgetown, D.C.
April, 1877.

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Jas. A. Hardie

AT THE AGE OF FORTY-THREE.

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES ALLEN HARDIE,

Inspector-General,

UNITED STATES ARMY.

"Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust!"

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

Washington:
1877.

DEDICATION.

To the children of him whose merits and services are herein briefly commemorated, this little volume is affectionately inscribed by his and their friend,

THE AUTHOR.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January, 1877.

INTRODUCTION.

The subject of this memoir belongs to that class of men whose spheres of action have been sufficiently large and conspicuous to make the narration of their lives and characters both interesting and useful to those who have known and observed them in life, however little they may have engaged the attention of the world at large. The most cursory perusal of the following pages will show that the life they attempt in some measure to portray was one of activity, and public in its character and usefulness. A more attentive reading will show that it was also the life of a sincere, devoted, and unselfish man, true to his God, his country, and his race. The narrative of such a life, however briefly and imperfectly told, cannot do harm and is certain to do good.

Those who scan these pages with unwonted care will be more apt to notice what is absent from them than what they contain. To such is due the explanation that the work was undertaken, as a token of gratitude and affection, without time to collect more ample material, or ability to adorn it with literary graces.

The tone of this little volume is eulogistic, but that scarcely requires explanation. The tale of a life open and full of integrity, when written by a friendly hand for the

perusal of friendly eyes, is not to be broken by adverse reflections, or suggestions of possible flaws in either character or attainments. Such critical methods belong to the higher plane of history.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, *January* 8, 1877.

MILITARY HISTORY OF JAMES A. HARDIE, of the United States Army, as shown by the files of this office.

Was a cadet at the United States Military Academy, from September 1, 1839, to July 1, 1843, when he was graduated and promoted in the Army to Brevet Second Lieutenant, First Artillery, July 1, 1843.

His subsequent commissions and appointments were as follows:

Second Lieutenant, Third Artillery ---------- 28 May, 1846.
First Lieutenant, Third Artillery ---------- 3 March, 1847.
Captain, Third Artillery ---------- 5 October, 1857.
Transferred to Fifth Artillery ---------- 15 May, 1861.
Major and Assistant Adjutant General ---------- 19 February, 1863.
Colonel and Inspector General ---------- 24 March, 1864.
Major, First N. Y. Vol's---- 1 August, 1846, to October 26, 1848.
Lt. Col., and Add'l A. D. C. -- 28 Sept., 1861, to 24 March, 1864.
Brig. Gen'l of Volunteers---------- 29 Nov., 1862, to 22 Jan., 1863.

He was brevetted Brigadier General, United States Army, March 3, 1865, for diligent and faithful services, and Major General, United States Army, March 13, 1865, for faithful, meritorious and distinguished services in the Inspector General's Department.

SERVICE.—He joined his regiment September 30, 1843, and served therewith in garrison at Hancock Barracks, Houlton, Maine, to August 23, 1844; on detached service at United States Military Academy, as Assistant Professor

of Geography, History, and Ethics, to August 15, 1846; in the war with Mexico as Major First New York Volunteers, at San Francisco, California, to October 26, 1848; on detached service in garrison at San Francisco, California, to March 30, 1849; *en route* to join his regiment and on leave of absence to November 8, 1849; with regiment in garrison at Fort Trumbull, Connecticut, to June, 1850; at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, to October, 1851; as adjutant of the regiment at Fort Adams, Rhode Island, to December 7, 1853; on detached service as aide-de-camp to Brevet Brigadier General Wool, Headquarters Department of the East, Baltimore, Maryland, to January, 1854, and Headquarters Department of the Pacific to May 3, 1855; with regiment at Benicia Barracks, California, as adjutant, to April, 1858; at San Bernardino, California, to June 7, 1858; on frontier duty in the Spokan expedition, to October, 1858, being engaged in the battle of Four Lakes, Washington Territory, September 1, 1858, and in the combat of Spokan Plains, September 5, 1858; at Forts Vancouver and Cascades, Washington Territory, and Fort Point, California, to July, 1861; as aide-de-camp to General McClellan, from September 3, 1861, to March 10, 1862; as acting assistant adjutant-general of the Army of the Potomac during the Virginia Peninsular campaign, to August, 1862; in the Maryland campaign, September to November, 1862; and in the Rappahannock campaign, December, 1862, to January, 1863, being on the staff of Major General Burnside, in the battle of Fredericksburg,

December 13, 1862; as judge advocate general of the Army of the Potomac, January 29, to March 20, 1863; on special duty in the War Department to August 2, 1866; and in charge of the Inspector General's Office, at Washington, March 24, 1864, to November 1, 1865; as member of Board of Inspection of arms and munitions in the arsenals and forts of the United States, August 2, 1866, to August 15, 1867; Inspector General at Headquarters of the Army to June 16, 1868; President of the Board of Claims to May 17, 1869; Inspector General of the Military Division of the Missouri to October 14, 1872; also member of Commission to act on claims of the State of Kansas for moneys expended in raising and equipping troops to aid in suppressing the rebellion; on inspection duty under the orders of the Secretary of War, and General of the Army to May 29, 1876; assistant in the Inspector General's Office, at Headquarters of the Army, to date of death, December 14, 1876.

THOMAS M. VINCENT,
Assistant Adjutant General.

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JAMES ALLEN HARDIE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

The subject of this memoir was born in the city of New York, May 5, 1823, and was the eldest of eight children, of whom four survive. His father, Allen W. Hardie, was a real estate broker at New York and Albany, and a man of wealth, intelligence and culture. His mother, Caroline Cox, belonged to a respectable family of Quaker descent, and possessed those domestic virtues that so generally characterize the members of that denomination. The boy was named James after his father's uncle, James Hardie, a professor in Columbia College, New York, and writer of some repute upon classical and historical subjects, and Allen after his own father. The Hardie family was of Scotch extration, as the name itself indicates, but had been long settled in America, and James had both opportunity and occasion, in his still youthful days, to refer to the services rendered in two wars with England by his ancestry.

The family residence was at Montrose, on the Hudson, and the earliest years of James were surrounded by those advantages that wealth, taste, and judgment afford to the

growing mind, but as he was by nature intellectual and studious, he needed not to be driven, but only guided. He neglected the usual amusements and occupations of boys for his books, and like many another precocious scholar, received both scolding and warning from his anxious mother because of his morbid propensity to study.

At the age of four years, James was able to read, and when eight years old, was placed in charge of a tutor, a talented and pious young man, studying for the ministry. The relations between the two were so affectionate as well as advantageous to the pupil, that when the tutor went to Pittsburgh to fill an instructor's place in the Western Collegiate Institute under the Rev. Dr. Lacey, it was arranged that young Hardie should accompany him, and remain in his immediate charge in addition to being regularly entered as a pupil of the institute. James was then just past ten, and the letter is still preserved in which he describes to his father, in a handwriting like copper-plate, and with a gravity and perfection of style far beyond his years, his journey from New York to Pittsburgh, his impressions of Philadelphia and its fine buildings and water-works, and the situation, surroundings, and interior arrangements of the Western Collegiate Institute. The letter shows that thus early he was keenly observant of everything in the way of beautiful or striking scenery, a taste that abided with him through life, and gave him many a pleasure that others less favored with a love of nature could not share.

Before the journey of young Hardie to what had hardly

ceased to be the "Far West," his father's fortunes had undergone a calamitous change, and it was only by measures of a most resolute and self-sacrificing character that the parent was enabled to preserve to the child, whose high talents and impulses be fully discerned, some part of those advantages of education and training that in his yet prosperous days he had resolved upon. Happily for both, the boy understood and reciprocated his father's efforts for his well being, and he earnestly strove to be all and to do all that the most anxious or exacting of parents could wish. His father's self-denying spirit he met half-way. His longings for a parental visit at examination time, and for a visit home himself during the "short vacation," he could not, indeed, suppress in his letters, but he accompanied them with expressions of cheerful resignation at foregoing them, that took away the sting of his disappointment.

In a letter dated December 19, 1833, he tells his father of the approaching public examination at the institute, and expresses the hope that he may not "disgrace" himself in it. His next letter is to his mother, and in a hand even more regular and beautiful than before. After a dutiful and affectionate opening, he describes to her the public examination just held before "a committee composed of some of the eminent gentlemen of the city and neighborhood," and explains that he, a boy under eleven, had no chance to win either of the two handsome medals offered as premiums for excellence in composition and elocution, because among the contestants were "young ladies, eighteen

or nineteen years old, who were second to none in the United States." His own part in the examination, he thus describes:

"The examination lasted for three days, and I never had such a drilling before. My class in Latin exeited great admiration. I was examined in the greater part of Asia, in the history of Greeee and Rome, in English and Latin grammar, in Cæsar and in arithmetic, and I spoke Napoleon's Farewell to Franee."

His expectations of future study, and his estimate of the uses and pleasures of learning, he thus unfolds:

"I expect to eommenee algebra and rhetorie next term, and Mr. K. thinks I shall soon be ready for Greek. * * * Tell eousin T—— to gain learning as fast as he ean, and that, should he even be eonfined to a limited sphere in soeiety, he will yet possess a pearl whose intrinsie value, the longer he lives, he will the more truly appreeiate, and from which he will derive a pleasure that nothing but the blessing of religious feeling ean equal."

The letters of young Hardie's kind friend and tutor to his pupil's father are full of praise and promise, and the only unfavorable report that he makes of him is that he has an "extremely quick temper," threatening future trouble if not subdued in youth. That it had existed, and had been subdued, those intimate with him in after life had good reason to believe, for extreme sensitiveness on the one hand and great patience on the other were always marked traits in his character.

James' stay at the Pittsburgh College was terminated prematurely by the resolution of his tutor, reluctantly taken, to give up teaching and devote himself wholly to theological study under Bishop McIlvaine, at Kenyon Col-

lege. James was too young to enter that institution, and as he had reached an age when he needed more than ever that bracing influence of school-fellowship with other boys that the most devoted private teaching cannot supply, there was nothing to do but for teacher and pupil to part. The former was sad enough over the necessity, for he had long entertained the thought of training the youth up, under his own supervision, for the ministry of the Episcopal Church, to which they both belonged, and he comforted his young charge and himself by hopes of their coming together again in a few years, and carrying out that project to the end.

The boy was brought back to New York, and eventually entered the Poughkeepsie Collegiate School, a noted establishment of that day, of which Dr. Bartlett, a highly esteemed instructor and scholar, was principal. While here, he conceived the idea of getting an appointment to the Military Academy as a means of continuing and advancing his studies, his desire for learning increasing with acquisition and the lessening of his opportunities for gratifying it. He addressed himself to the Representatives in Congress from the Hudson river districts, and the tone and style of his letters awakened in them an extraordinary interest and disposition to serve him, so that from the first their answers were highly encouraging and satisfactory. His youthfulness was against him, he being considerably less than fifteen years old when he began his efforts, but this objection disappeared as time went on, and at last, in September, 1839,

at the age of sixteen years and three months, he entered the Academy. His father, besides being widely known and highly respected, had both a personal and political friendship with the then President, Van Buren, by whose order the appointment was issued. James himself had placed on file in the War Department a formal application for the place, and he thus stated the considerations by which he hoped to move "His Excellency," as he styled him, the Secretary of War:

> "I may have some little claim to notice, as my great-grandfather, Bogardus, was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and my grandfather and uncle were in the service of the United States during the late war, and our family always have and do now maintain strict administration principles."

What the youthful conception of "strict administration principles" was there are no means now of ascertaining, but as he speaks of them with pride as the principles of "our family," and the love of truth and honor that attended him through life was already a marked feature of his character, it is certain that he took them to be the only principles suitable for the maintenance of right-minded men.

CHAPTER II.

CADET LIFE AT WEST POINT.

As already mentioned, James entered the Military Academy, September 1, 1839, at the age of sixteen years and three months. Among those who entered the same class with him and became distinguished in after life were Generals Grant, Franklin, Augur, and Steele of the Union side, and General Gardner, Confederate commander of Port Hudson, during the late civil war. The Union Generals, William T. Sherman, George H. Thomas, John F. Reynolds, Nathaniel Lyon, William S. Rosecrans, Horatio G. Wright, Don Carlos Buell, John Pope and John Newton, and the Confederate Generals Ewell, Longstreet, Van Dorn and Lovell were already cadets when he entered, and during his term as cadet, the Union Generals McClellan, Hancock, "Baldy" Smith, Fitz John Porter, Reno, Stoneman, Sturgis, and Charles P. Stone, and the Confederate Generals "Stonewall" Jackson, A. P. Hill, Kirby Smith, Barnard E. Bee and George E. Pickett entered the classes below him. One of his class-mates was the well-known Father Deshon, of the Redemptorist and Paulist societies of the Roman Catholic Church, and Colonel Garesché, killed at the battle of Stone's river while serving on the staff of General Rosecrans, and a Catholic of extreme piety, was in one of the classes above him. Colonel Dela-

field, a prominent officer of the engineer corps, was the Superintendent of the Academy, and Lieutenants Joseph Hooker and Irvin McDowell, both major-generals in the army now, filled the office of adjutant during the four years of young Hardie's cadet life.

At the first examination, nine months after his admission, Cadet Hardie was one of the envied five "star" cadets whose names were published in the Army Register in recognition of their merit as students, his rank being two in French, and ten in mathematics, out of a class of sixty members. The next year he stood three in French, five in drawing, eleven in mathematics, and thirteen in ethics, in a class of fifty-three. The third year he stood two in drawing, nine in chemistry, and thirteen in natural philosophy, in a class of forty-one. The fourth year he stood seven in ethics, eight in mineralogy and geology, eleven in artillery, and twelve in infantry tactics, and thirteen in military and civil engineering; and was graduated as eleventh among the thirty-nine who remained of the sixty that originally composed the class. His standing in discipline, which concerned chiefly his military bearing and conduct, was an average ninety-eight out of an average membership of two hundred and twenty-three. His whole number of conduct marks in the four years was three hundred and ninety-five, while it would have taken eight hundred, or one hundred in any half year, to have found him deficient. It is worthy of remark, in this connection, that Don Carlos Buell, known before and during the late war

as the strictest disciplinarian in the army, stood in one year at the foot of the conduct roll of two hundred and nineteen cadets; such is the seeming inconsistency of human character.

At the time of Cadet Hardie's entry at West Point, the custom of "hazing the plebs" was in full vigor, and it was his lot to be subjected to it in pretty ample measure, but he bore it good-naturedly, and many years afterwards, when past middle life, and stern measures were in vogue for its suppression, he spoke of the practice as one that did not call for the official pother made about it, and which was not without its useful influences upon those subjected to it; while, as to the occasional cruel and excessive instances of it that were made the grounds of official notice and interference, they could and would be most effectually checked by the generosity and sense of honor of the cadets themselves.

Of Cadet Hardie's life at West Point, it is only necessary to remark that he was the same quiet, diligent, and studious youth that he had ever been, popular with his instructors, but sufficiently boyish and companionable to be esteemed by his fellow cadets. The examination of his class for graduation, in 1843, was conducted before a visiting committee of which General Winfield Scott was the chairman, and it is not surprising that in a presence regarded by them as so august and critical, each unfledged military hero was on his mettle, and anxious as to the result.

Shortly after his graduation, Cadet Hardie, in accordance with the recommendation of the examining board and his own desire, was assigned to the artillery arm of the service and attached as a brevet or supernumerary second lieutenant to the first regiment of artillery, with station at Hancock Barracks, Maine. After a year's service to teach him the duties of an officer in garrison, he was ordered back to West Point as assistant professor in the department of geography, history, and ethics, all of them subjects in which his heart was enlisted. He was then but a little over twenty-one years of age, but, apart from his proficiency, had enough of the gravity of manner that devotion to learning always gives, to be a successful teacher of the youths of sixteen or seventeen that formed his classes.

CHAPTER III.

CALIFORNIA SERVICE DURING MEXICAN WAR.

In 1846, the administration of President Polk, under the aggressive influence of Governor Marcy, of New York, then Secretary of War, formed the design of raising a volunteer regiment of young and picked men, and sending them to California, to be employed as long as need be for military purposes, and then disbanded and left in California as a nucleus of defense and extension for the weak and scattered American settlements in that then Mexican province. The raising and command of the regiment was entrusted to Jonathan D. Stevenson, a friend of Secretary Marcy's, and in looking about for military talent to associate with him in the command, his choice fell upon Lieutenant Hardie for the post of major. The latter accepted the appointment, and Colonel Stevenson thereupon procured from the Secretary of War an order relieving him from duty at the Military Academy and granting him leave of absence for two years with permission to go abroad. Thus he found himself at the age of twenty-three engaged in an important enterprise, and upon the threshold of responsibilities from which he would, with his sensitive and self-distrusting nature, have shrunk, could he have foreseen them.

The regiment sailed from New York for California, by way of Cape Horn, in the month of September, 1846, four months after the existence of war between the United States and Mexico had been recognized by Congress. Three merchants ships were chartered by the Government to convey the regiment and on one of these, the "Loo Choo," were embarked three and a half companies, and the vessel, with the detachment, was placed under command of Major Hardie, who was furnished with the following letter from the Department of State, signed by the gentleman who subsequently became noted as the negotiator of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo:

"*To the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States of America.*

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

"WASHINGTON, *September* 14, 1846.

"The American ship 'Loo Choo,' having on board troops of the United States commanded by Major James A. Hardie, (under whose orders likewise the master and crew are placed,) is one of three transport ships of the United States that are to sail immediately from New York for the northwest coast of America, in company with the United States sloop-of-war 'Preble.'

"These vessels will, it is to be presumed, become separated in the course of the voyage, and find themselves under the necessity of seeking, singly, the hospitality of ports of friendly nations, in quest of what they may need. I have accordingly to request that, should this happen in the country where you are accredited, every proper step will be taken by you to obtain for them, with the least possible delay, all the facilities and friendly accommodations to which their actual character as national vessel entitles them under the established usages of comity among nations.

"N. P. TRIST,

"*Acting Secretary of State.*"

The " Loo Choo " reached San Francisco after a stormy voyage of six months, enlivened by a brief stay at Rio Janeiro, where Major Hardie and his officers were magnificently entertained by the young Emperor, now the famous Dom Pedro II. The other two vessels also got in safely with their detachments. A company of the Third Artillery, Major Hardie's own regiment, having William T. Sherman as junior First Lieutenant, had already reached there from New York. Major Hardie and his detachment took post at San Francisco, and he came into command and charge of both military and civil affairs in that part of Upper California; Colonel Mason, who succeeded Colonel Kearney as military commander and governor of the whole district, fixing his headquarters at Monterey, with Lieutenant Sherman for his Chief of Staff. The position of Major Hardie was both arduous and delicate, having to deal with turbulent volunteers, anxious for the field and impatient at the restraints of garrison life, with discontented and sullen natives, and adventurers of all sorts from the United States, between whom and the soldiers the natives found occasion enough to call upon the commandant for redress and protection. Fears of a native rising against the American occupation were constant and well-founded, and served to keep the commanding officers in a constant state of watchfulness and anxiety, both with regard to the inhabitants, that they might not take the troops by surprise, and the troops, that they might always be ready to march or fight, as circumstances might demand. In Mexico, too, actual

and glorious war was in progress, in which the army was gaining laurels, and possibly rewards, that those in California might envy, but saw no prospect of sharing. It was under such influences that Major Hardie, after two months of trial in the command at San Francisco, asked to be relieved from his volunteer rank and command, and ordered upon his commission of Second Lieutenant of Artillery, to join his regiment in Mexico. Towards this request Colonel Mason, a strict and even harsh disciplinarian of the "old school," as the phrase was known in those days, took the unusual course of replying under his own hand, and in kindly terms, assuring him that his unenviable and perplexing situation was thoroughly recognized; that his course had been wise and prudent, and was fully approved; that the idea of relieving him was, in view of the public interests connected with the occupation and organization of Upper California, inadmissible, and that he could not, under the circumstances, abandon his rank and command without injuriously affecting his reputation as a military man. This letter seems to have had the effect intended, and as his position grew still more arduous and responsible with the growth and developement of American interests and settlements, his cheerfulness and patience kept pace with the demand for their exercise. The selection of San Francisco bay as the rendezvous for the considerable naval force kept on the Californian coast, threw upon Major Hardie, as the military commandant, the duties of hospitality that always arise upon such occasions, and his success

in the performance of these social duties contributed largely to the formation and maintenance of that good understanding between the two arms of service which succeeded the original conflicts of authority and purpose which are part of the history of the conquest of California.

In the summer of 1847, Major Hardie, in conjunction with the naval commander then on the station, selected and reported the reservations to be made for the military, naval, and civil purposes of the General Government at San Francisco. In the following spring he was sent to the Territory of Oregon to enlist, organize, and muster in a battalion of volunteers for service in Lower California, which, though of little value intrinsically, the Government desired to hold for the moral advantages it gave in treating with Mexico for a cessation of the war. But despite the earnest and intelligent efforts of Major Hardie, which met the warm approval of Colonel Mason, no volunteers could be obtained for such a tame and unattractive service, and a like attempt to raise a battalion among the Mormons having failed, it became necessary to form a detachment from the troops in Upper California, and Major Hardie was ordered to conduct the force to Lower California, and turn it over to the commanding officer of that district.

It was while on this visit to Oregon that Major Hardie became an open convert to the Roman Catholic religion, towards which he had long been tending, and within whose communion he remained, as devoted, sincere, and useful a member as its laity ever contained, till the day of his death

Upon his return to San Francisco, he set about the erection of a place of worship for the use of that church, and in one day succeeded in collecting $3,000, upon which sum the first Catholic church in San Francisco was erected in 1848. An unexpected result of his joining the Catholic church at the time he did was his probable preservation from death by assassination, for stepping into the lodgings of a priest one evening to converse with him about his newly-assumed religious duties, he made so long a stay as to wear out the patience of a desperate character who, in revenge for a reprimand administered to him for an act of theft in which he had been detected, had waylaid the Major at a lonely point between the town and the camp at the Presidio, several miles distant, for the purpose of shooting him. This desperado was soon afterwards hung for highway robbery, and he and his companion in the crime and its punishment played a game of cards to decide which should first swing upon the primitive and single gallows.

Major Hardie had scarcely returned from Oregon and Lower California when a cry went up from Sonoma to headquarters at Monterey of an imminent Indian raid upon the settlements, and he was sent to inquire into the matter and if really necessary, to muster in a temporary force of volunteers. But the cry turned out to be no more than a device to prevent the withdrawal of the company of troops stationed at Sonoma, and whose removal for service elsewhere threatened to injuriously affect the trade of that struggling town. Every officer who has served on the

frontier, as well as the authorities at Washington, have since become familiar with such devices for creating or retaining trade in the settlements, and many a round sum it has cost the Government since 1848.

In the summer of 1848 the "gold fever" began to rage, and the rush of everybody to the diggings, and the inflation of prices that followed the coming in of the gold, greatly embarrassed the military officers, both in keeping their troops and in keeping themselves. The accounts that have been written of the social disorganization that marked the earlier stages of the developement of gold-mining in California, seem almost incredible to the distant reader, but the following extract from a letter received in the fall of that year from an intimate friend at Oregon City, the capital of the Territory of that name, will show how little the accounts of what happened in California itself are exaggerated. The writer says: "Our people are all going to California. Our lawyers are all gone—we are, perhaps, none the worse for that—our circuit judge is gone, and I am told our supreme judge is going. Most of our Legislature are gone, and in fact, I am afraid it will dissolve our organization."

CHAPTER IV.

GARRISON LIFE AFTER THE WAR.

The war with Mexico being over, Major Hardie, who had meantime become a First Lieutenant in the Third Artillery, was mustered out of the volunteer service in October, 1848, and then, as an officer of the regular army, was assigned to the duty of mustering out and discharging the volunteers in different parts of California. He also served as a member of the Board of Engineers, to establish the city grades of San Francisco, and received a grant of four town lots from the municipality. In the spring of 1849, having seen the last of the volunteers mustered out and paid, he was ordered East, and making the journey safely by way of the Isthmus, was assigned to a quiet garrison life at Fort Trumbull, New London Harbor. He remained here till the summer of 1850, when his assignment as the junior First Lieutenant of Light Company C of his regiment, of which Braxton Bragg was Captain, and William T. Sherman, senior First Lieutenant, carried him to Jefferson Barracks, near Saint Louis. He was ordered to convey to that station a detachment of recruits, and in addition to the usual interesting experiences of an officer conducting recruits, the long journey down the Ohio river was enlivened by the breaking out of cholera on the slow and motley-crowded steamboat, which tied-up every four hours

to bury the victims. By dint of extraordinary exertions in keeping the men of his detachment clean, lively, and abstemious, and with the aid of a citizen physician whom he found on board and hired as surgeon to the detachment, he succeeded in bringing all his recruits safely through the perilous journey.

During his tour of service at Jefferson Barracks, Lieutenant Hardie made the acquaintance of Miss Margaret Hunter, of St. Louis, niece of his old commander in California, Colonel Mason, of the dragoons, and in 1851 they were married in that city. Eight children were born of that marriage, of whom three preceded their father to the grave. Life was pleasant at Jefferson Barracks, and the appointment of judge advocate of a general court-martial convened at that station, gratified the desire of the still youthful officer for mental employment; but in the fall of 1851, the resignation of the regimental adjutant, now Professor Quinby, of the Rochester University, made a vacancy in that office which the regimental commander, in the solemn and deliberate and somewhat stilted phraseology used by elderly military men in those days in communicating with their juniors, tendered to Lieutenant Hardie. The appointment was of course accepted with becoming modesty and expressions of a proper sense of responsibility, and the new adjutant, with his young wife, left Jefferson Barracks for the regimental headquarters at Fort Adams, Newport, Rhode Island. The new position involved plenty of administrative and office work, and in it Lieutenant

Hardie strengthened both his reputation for administrative ability and his liking for staff employments. He remained at Newport till nearly the end of 1853, when, as he was about embarking on the disastrous voyage of the ill-fated "San Francisco" for the Pacific coast, to which station his regiment and its headquarters had been transferred by General Scott, he received an order appointing him one of the aides-de-camp of Major General Wool, whose headquarters were then at Baltimore, and thus escaped the peril, and possibly the death that overtook so many of his regiment. He shortly after accompanied General Wool to California, when that officer went out to command the Pacific department, and served on his staff till May, 1855, when he resumed his position as regimental adjutant, receiving a very gracious letter from General Wool on retiring, in which that precise and careful writer said to him: "You have served with ability, honesty and faithfulness; indeed, no one could have served better or more to my satisfaction."

In those early days, California was an unwelcome station to an army officer that happened to be married, and in 1854, George H. Thomas, who nearly twenty years after, died at San Francisco a major-general, and in command of the Pacific division, was a captain in the Third Artillery, on duty at West Point, but under orders to join his regiment as soon as relieved by Colonel Robert E. Lee. He wrote to Lieutenant Hardie, begging him to send him all the information he could about the several stations of the

regiment and whether he had better bring his wife, or leave her at home, adding, "I am somewhat inclined to think that California will not be adapted for the residence of ladies for many years to come."

In California, Lieutenant Hardie, in 1854, found his old comrade, "Tecumseh," or, as he was then universally called, "Bill" Sherman, who, having resigned from the army, was in the full tide of civil life as a banker and broker at San Francisco. They had been closely associated in 1847 and 1848, on the same ground, and again at St. Louis in 1850 and 1851, and a close and warm intercourse and correspondence sprang up between them at once, many of the letters passing between them at Benicia and San Francisco being extant, and showing them both in characters of which their children have no cause to be ashamed. From only one of those letters will any quotation be made, and that because it constitutes an interesting reminiscence of a public event which has grown dim, no doubt, in the memory of Californians. In a letter dated August 29, 1855, from Sherman to Hardie, the former says: "We are to have a celebration on the 10th September, by the California pioneers, and by the people generally. Can't you join? If you know of any saddle or bridle fixings suitable for parade, put me on the track, as there will be a scarcity. I have saddle and bridle and the promise of a saddle cloth. Still, if I could lay my hand on a full rig, I would be better satisfied, as I have to act as grand marshal on the occasion."

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITION AGAINST SPOKAN INDIANS.

In October, 1857, Lieutenant Hardie reached the grade of captain by regular promotion in his regiment, and left the adjutantcy for the command of a company at San Bernardino. The following year his company formed part of the expedition conducted by Colonel George Wright against the Spokan Indians in Washington Territory, who had become, after their surprise and massacre of part of Colonel Steptoe's command, hostile, insolent, and defiant. The story of this expedition was, at its close, written in an interesting manner by Lieutenant Lawrence Kip, of the Third Artillery, and published. Few campaigns in the Indian country have been better planned and executed, or more successful. The pride of the Spokans, and of their allies, the Pelouse, Cœur d'Alene, and Pend d'Orcille bands, was completely broken in two engagements, in which the Indians suffered severely, while the troops, owing to the skillful management of their commander and the use of the newly-introduced long-range rifle, escaped without any loss of life and with but few wounds. The Indians fought with marked bravery, but this only added to their losses, and increased the moral effects of their defeat. Captain Hardie, being the field-officer of the day at the time of the first engagement, and therefore in charge of the camp, took

no active part therein, but in the second, known as the battle of Spokan Plains, his company was on the skirmish line and bore a prominent part in the action, advancing upon the enemy through the flames of the prairie grass in which the savages had enveloped Colonel Wright and his command. The action lasted seven hours, and at its close the troops found themselves fourteen miles beyond the point of its commencement, worn out, and famished for water.

Upon the return of the expedition to Fort Walla Walla, its point of assembling and departure, the troops were distributed, and Captain Hardie went to Fort Vancouver; then to the Cascades; then back to Vancouver; then to the Dalles. In July, 1860, he became adjutant-general of the Department of Oregon, commanded by Colonel Wright, and continued in that position till ordered east in May, 1861, upon the breaking out of the rebellion. In the fall of 1860, he effected an insurance upon his life, a step that involved a considerable pecuniary sacrifice, for the entries in his memorandum books show how severe was the struggle, from year to year, to provide for the wants of a growing family, in a frontier country, out of the slender pay of an army officer. These mute witnesses of the rigor of the Government in dealing with its faithful servants, plead eloquently for generous treatment of the army in peace, as well as in war.

The journals and scrap-books of Captain Hardie, kept during the fall of 1860, show how intently he watched the progress and attempted to forecast the result of the seces-

sion movement in the South. His own purpose to stand by the Government seems to have been all the time clear, but that he yielded no blind obedience may be inferred from his studies upon the right of revolution and armed resistance, considered both upon philosophic and religious grounds. There is also an unfinished study of slavery, in which, though admitting its lawful existence and right of protection till lawfully destroyed, he condemns the system of slavery in general upon high moral grounds, and asserts the equality of man in nature, and the existence of a native feeling of independence in the heart of man that ought to be respected. A poetical composition of great merit, entitled "Stars of my Country's Sky," clipped from a New England paper and constituting an eloquent appeal against the breaking up of the Union, seems to have attracted his especial favor. In December, 1860, he received a letter from his old company commander at Jefferson barracks, Braxton Bragg, who had left the army and was living as a planter at Thibodeaux, Louisiana. This letter, which was in reference to some matter connected with the regiment, and bore evidence of how impossible it is for an old officer to separate himself from the army by resigning his commission and turning civilian, contained, of course, a reference to the topic then uppermost in men's minds, and in view of the part borne by the writer in the events that followed it in point of time, what he said may be of present interest, it being premised that

the writer died but a few weeks before the recipient of the letter. The following is the extract:

"My life has been a very retired one in the country, and up to this time as prosperous as man has the right to expect; but a change has just come over affairs in our country which you have heard ere this, and which it is shocking to contemplate. Political agitators, for their own selfish ends, have brought us to the verge of civil war, and if we avoid that, I see no way of saving our country. Government is now virtually dissolved; and whether it can be reconstructed, or whether we are to remain in anarchy, or resort to arms, with friends and brothers opposed, without a reason or an object, no one can foresee. Escaping the horrors of civil war, pecuniary ruin can but overtake those of us who are but partially established. You are to be envied in Oregon and California. Bound to neither party, you may decline the fate of either and set up for yourselves. Would that my lot was on the Pacific!"

Several times during his tour of service on the Pacific coast, the name of Lieutenant and Captain Hardie had been forwarded to Washington with recommendations for his promotion and transfer to the general staff, for which branch of the service he had always shown that peculiar aptness that should constitute the chief recommendation for appointment in it. But these appointments lay first in the control of Jefferson Davis, and subsequently of John B. Floyd, successive Secretaries of War, with whom the officers that recommended Captain Hardie, though men of the first rank and reputation in the army, had no influence, and though political influence was not beyond his reach, and the use of it was urged upon him by army friends anxious for his success, he shrunk from resorting to what

he regarded as an unmilitary way of gaining a military advantage. Consequently, when ordered east in May, 1861, he was still a captain of artillery, with no prospect of promotion in that small and select arm of the service for years to come. In the large increase of the regular army ordered at the beginning of the war, only one regiment was added to the artillery, and to that he was transferred with several other officers of the four regiments of artillery, in order to leaven the new lump with old material. This transfer made him the senior captain in the new regiment, but did not better his prospects of promotion to the rank of major, which does not go regimentally, like the grades below it. His departure from California was sweetened by a farewell letter from the commander of the department, full of hearty and sincere tributes to his personal and professional character, and the Catholic vicar-general of the diocese in which Oregon was embraced also wrote him an affectionate letter in which he says: "I have this evening recommended to the prayers of the arch-confraternity all the troops that leave, or will leave Oregon and Washington for the terrible struggle that threatens our country."

CHAPTER VI.

SERVICE WITH ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

Captain Hardie reached New York in safety, and in the late summer of 1861, made his way to Washington. Congress was in special session, and had been at work on the army, and his first experience was that the lieutenants who had been serving on the staff at Washington with the temporary rank of captain, and were therefore on the ground to look after their interests, had, by the potency of an act of Congress, been legislated at one bound into the permanent rank of major, and so exchanged places with those who but yesterday were their seniors in rank, as they still were in years and in length of service. No censure attached to these young officers for getting such promotion as they could in the general inflation of the number and rank of army officers to meet the necessities of the war that had become flagrant, but it was a bitter, though perhaps only a brief trial to those officers who had been relatively reduced in rank by this act of legislation, and especially to those who, like Captain Hardie, had been prevented by absence on distant service from obtaining any advantage from the new legislation during the short time only in which there were any promotions available. After an unsuccessful effort to get a staff appointment to his liking, he

joined the headquarters of the new regiment of artillery to which he had been transferred, and which at the time consisted only of officers. He was ordered to the New England States on recruiting service, September 2, 1861, and was turning over and over the problem as to where recruits for the regular army could be found when every State was exerting itself to raise its quota of volunteers under the call issued immediately after the battle of Bull Run, when he was recalled to Washington by a telegram which notified him of his appointment to a lieutenant colonelcy on the staff of Major-General McClellan, who had been assigned to the command of the army upon the retirement of General Scott. This was indeed a welcome change of rank and duty. On reporting to General McClellan, he was associated with Brigadier General Williams, the adjutant general of the Army of the Potomac, in conducting the great and increasing business of the adjutant general's department of that ever growing army. The duty was congenial, and, within the knowledge of every division and brigade commander of the army, was admirably performed. One of the special charges of Colonel Hardie was to keep constantly informed of the organization of the army with respect to the composition of its brigades and divisions; also the names of the regimental and other commanders, the locations of the camps, available strength of the organizations, means of transportation, character of armament, and other like particulars. This information he kept in small memorandum pocket books, so as to have it at all

times available, and the tabular statements in which he presented it are models of patience and ingenuity.

Colonel Hardie accompanied General McClellan in the Peninsular and Maryland campaigns of 1862, and was retained by General Burnside, who had served with him in by-gone years, when both were Lieutenants in the Third Artillery. At the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, he was sent by General Burnside to remain with General Franklin, and report the progress of the operations under charge of that officer on the left, and this duty he performed with such intelligence and fidelity, that when an unfortunate controversy arose between the two commanders as to the responsibility for the failure of those operations, they both referred to the field despatches of General Hardie, for he had just been appointed a brigadier general of volunteers, as exhibiting a true statement of the orders given and of the operations that occurred.

Mention has just been made of Colonel Hardie's advancement to the rank of brigadier general. Before the removal of General McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac, Colonel Hardie had contemplated an effort to see whether the influence he had gained during his service at headquarters, added to his military record of twenty years, would not secure him a larger field of action, together with the promotion that so many of his contemporaries had received through their better fortune, but he had taken no steps in the matter, and the removal of General McClellan terminated his plans for the time

being. He soon learned, however, that General Burnside, with characteristic generosity, had no sooner acquired the influence resulting from his appointment to the command of the army, than he forwarded the name of Colonel Hardie to the War Department for promotion to the rank of brigadier, and had obtained from several of his divisional commanders endorsements of his own recommendation. The subject being thus broached, and in a manner gratifying to the modest nature of Colonel Hardie, the latter applied to several officers of high rank, who knew him well, to add their testimonials of his merit and fitness to those voluntarily forwarded to Washington by General Burnside. From the recommendations thus placed on record in the War Office, the following extracts, selected as being of probable interest to the readers of this Memoir, are given below:

"Colonel Hardie was a class-mate of mine, and consequently an acquaintance of over twenty-three years has existed. I do not hesitate to say that he is well qualified for the position of brigadier general, having served continuously in the army from the time of his graduation to the present time, and always enjoying the confidence of those with whom he has been associated. * * The service is already retarded by the appointment of so many men without military experience, that I feel as if a great benefit had been done every time an officer of his class is advanced."—General Grant.

"I beg leave to add my own recommendation, based upon a long acquaintance with that most meritorious officer, and a full knowledge of his eminent qualifications for the promotion for which his name is presented."—General Burnside.

"I desire to add my testimony to that of many others to his

eminent qualifications for that station. He is familiar with the duties, and will be earnest, zealous and devoted, in the discharge of them."—General Hooker.

"Lieutenant Colonel Hardie was one of my aides-de-camp in California. I always found him an intelligent, active and efficient officer. Should he obtain the office of brigadier general, I have no doubt he would discharge his duties with ability and distinction. I would be delighted to have him under my command."—General Wool.

"Lieutenant Colonel Hardie is an excellent and talented officer, and would worthily fill the position of brigadier general of volunteers. I trust he may be so commissioned. I have been acquainted with Colonel Hardie for twenty-two years; he has been a faithful officer in every position in the army in which he has been placed."—General Hancock.

"Lieutenant Colonel Hardie has served in the same regiment with myself for over eighteen years, and it gives me great pleasure to bear testimony to his soldierly qualities and ability, his faithful and assiduous devotion to his profession. His usefulness in his present position as adjutant general on the staff at headquarters has, I conceive, been a bar to his advancement, up to the present time, which in justice ought no longer to be allowed to remain."—General Reynolds, of Gettysburg.

"No officer of his rank can show a record of continuous hard service which will excel Captain Hardie's."—General Franklin.

"I take the liberty of uniting my testimony to that already received as to his eminent fitness for the duties belonging to the rank of a general officer. * * I have had the opportunity of noting his rare devotion to duty, his talents, his high qualifications as a cultivated officer, and his fine qualities as a soldier."—General Humphreys.

"My confidence in his ability and his merits are such that it would give me great pleasure to have him assigned to duty with me if the President should confer the appointment upon him."—General Butterfield.

It being evident that the battle of Fredericksburg would be followed by a repose of several weeks at least, General McClellan, who was anxious to have the services of General Hardie in the preparation of his report on the organization and operations of the Army of the Potomac between the dates of his assignment to, and removal from its command, applied to the War Department for them, and with the consent of General Burnside, he was sent to General McClellan in New York, and did a great deal of work in preparing material for the document upon which General McClellan purposed to rely for the vindication of his military character, and, possibly, the redemption of his military fortunes. Upon the appointment of General Hooker to the command of the Army of the Potomac, that officer, finding the discipline of the army somewhat loosened by the events of the two preceding months, resolved, as one of the means of restoring it, to improve the character of trials by courts martial and courts of inquiry. which had become somewhat uncertain and inefficient in their operations, as well as unduly numerous. He therefore cast about for a fitting officer to place on duty as judge advocate general of his army and settled upon General Hardie, whose return to headquarters he therefore solicited. At the same time his services were applied for by the Adjutant General, whose duties had so grown under the continual enlargement of the army, and the multiplication of commands, organizations, and military districts and stations, as the national forces spread themselves over the South,

that the need of additional assistants of experience and skill in army administration had become imperative. General Hooker was not disposed to surrender his project of making General Hardie the judge advocate general of his army, but yielded at length to the representations from Washington, and General Hardie, seeing that he was inevitably destined for staff duty and receiving the tender of a major's rank in the adjutant general's department at once, with assurances that his withdrawal from the field should not prejudice his claims to future consideration, accepted the offer and assurances, and, vacating his volunteer rank of brigadier, entered upon duty as assistant to the adjutant general, with his rank as lieutenant colonel and aide-de-camp.

CHAPTER VII.

SERVICE IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

Colonel Hardie's duties as assistant adjutant general brought him into personal acquaintance with Secretary Stanton, who had in a high degree the faculty of judging the character and capacities of men instantaneously, and it was not long before the Secretary, whose own labors, herculean as they already were, were ever increasing, found Colonel Hardie so valuable to himself that his services in the Adjutant General's Office were terminated by his transfer to the staff of the Secretary of War.

In the latter part of June, 1863, while the Army of the Potomac was endeavoring by forced marches to intercept General Lee in his advance into Pennsylvania, and General Hooker was hoping by a successful issue to the impending battle to retrieve the reputation he had lost at Chancellorsville, the authorities at Washington determined to supersede him by General Meade, commander of one of his corps. The motives for this action have nothing to do with this narrative, and are not therefore discussed. General Hooker, naturally reluctant to abandon the chance of recovering his fortunes, was at last made to see that it was not intended to entrust him with the conduct of the great and decisive battle which was clearly foreseen, and on June 27, the orders of the President for the change of com-

manders were made out at the War Department. Secretary Stanton, who seemed to have a special anxiety as to the manner in which these orders should be communicated and executed, called Colonel Hardie into the room where he was closeted with President Lincoln and General Halleck, bade him read carefully the orders and memorize their substance, and then directed him to leave at once by rail for Frederick City, at which point the Federal army had arrived on its northward march, and finding General Meade, without communicating his mission to anybody, accompany that officer to the headquarters of General Hooker, and see the command transferred to him both formally and actually. He was further directed to remain long enough to ascertain the positions of the army, and the plans and dispositions of the new commander, and then return to Washington and report. Should the railway be cut by the raiding Confederate cavalry, he was directed to avail himself of whatever other opportunity there was of getting to Frederick City, and if necessary to destroy the orders to prevent their coming into the hands of the enemy, he was still, if he could reach Frederick City, to communicate them verbally and insist upon their execution, as both his person and his position were well known to the two officers concerned.

Colonel Hardie reached Frederick City in safety, though not without several alarms, and found the town and the roads leading to the camps beyond full of carousing soldiery. Ascertaining that General Meade's headquarters

were several miles out of town, he obtained a conveyance with great difficulty—it being long past midnight—and after a slow and troublesome progress past the throng of soldiers returning to their camps, reached General Meade's headquarters and penetrated to his tent without disclosing his name, rank or business. General Meade, awakened from the brief rest he was taking, after the labors of the day and night, by Colonel Hardie's colloquy with the sentinel in front of the tent, and recognizing his visitor, expressed astonishment at seeing him there, and, when informed that it was business from Washington that brought him, was so little prepared for the nature of that business, that his comments showed his fears that calumny and intrigue had been busy with him, as with so many other officers of rank in that army. When he had read the order of the President and realized its import, he soon made his visitor aware that nothing but his sense of implicit obedience to any lawful command would induce him to obey it, and he shrunk, as did Colonel Hardie himself, from the preordained manner of executing it, by going secretly to the headquarters of General Hooker and demanding possession of the chief command, instead of permitting General Hooker to be first made aware of the state of affairs, so that he might send for his successor and invest him with it in his own time and manner. But as even this part of the programme had been carefully considered at Washington, doubtless there appeared good reasons at the time to the authorities why the feelings of

two meritorious officers like Generals Hooker and Meade should be sacrificed to a public exigency, and certainly some thoughtfulness was shown in sending Colonel Hardie to supervise so delicate a transaction; he being on terms of intimacy with both officers, and known to them both as sensitive and thoughtful in his dealings with his fellow-men to the last degree.

General Meade had shared the opinion of the whole army, that if General Hooker were to be superseded, General Reynolds, commander of the First Corps, should and would be appointed to the chief command, and as they were devoted friends, his anxiety to confer with Reynolds was intense, but had to give way to the imperative order to assume command of the army at once. So, attended by Colonel Hardie, he proceeded to the headquarters of General Hooker, where, with only such manifestation of feeling as was natural upon the occasion, the operation that had been so anxiously planned at Washington was quietly performed. Colonel Hardie remained nearly all the day of June 28, and took a leading part in the preparation of the orders of Generals Hooker and Meade announcing the change of command, adding to the latter, with the warm approval of General Meade, a paragraph paying a generous tribute to the past glories of the retiring chief. Then, as soon as General Meade had ascertained the positions of his army, and determined upon his general plan of operation, Colonel Hardie returned to Washington and made his report to the Secretary of War.

In the fall of 1863, Secretary Stanton made his then famous trip to the west to meet General Grant and fix upon a plan for combining all the military forces and operations in the southwest under that officer, and as it was necessary, in the absence of Assistant Secretary Watson, to have some one designated, under the sign-manual of the President, to perform the indispensable duties of the Secretary at Washington, he drew up and the President signed, the following instrument:

"*October* 17, 1863.

"Lt. Col. James Hardie is authorized to perform the duties of Secretary of War during the temporary absence of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

This appointment Colonel Hardie held till the return of Mr. Stanton.

In the early spring of 1864, Secretary Stanton, knowing that the plans of General Grant for the coming campaign would, in the progress of their execution, uncover Washington so far as his army was concerned, and possibly render necessary a reduction of the garrison to reinforce the troops at the front, an event that really happened, became anxious for accurate information as to the state of the defenses of Washington, and how they could be improved and strengthened to meet the two contingencies above mentioned. He sent for Colonel Hardie, and, explaining to him his ideas upon the subject, directed him to make an exhaustive and personal inspection of the

defenses, and report both upon the actual state of the works and their garrisons, and what was needed to increase the strength of the first and the morale and efficiency of the last. This was native and congenial duty, and it is not surprising that it was so well performed as to greatly add to the good opinion already held by the Secretary as to the talents and industry of his military assistant, and at the same moment an opportunity arose of manifesting his regard in a substantial manner of which he was not slow to avail himself. The death of Colonel Van Rensselaer, Inspector General, an aged officer of the army, being reported to the War Department March 24, 1864, Mr. Stanton immediately made out the nomination of Colonel Hardie for the vacant place and carried it to the President, who as promptly signed it and transmitted it to the Senate, where it received the unusual compliment of an immediate, as well as a unanimous confirmation. The manner in which this appointment was conferred was thus as gratifying as the promotion it gave of two grades in the permanent branch of that profession to which Colonel Hardie had devoted his life. Thus, too, was redeemed the promise that his withdrawal from the field to take a less conspicuous but more useful post in that department, without whose efficient working achievements in the field would be impossible or vain, should not bar his advancement.

CHAPTER VIII.

SERVICE IN INSPECTOR GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

The transfer of Colonel Hardie to the inspection branch of the army was agreeable to himself because, both as a line and a staff officer, and as a result of his observation and of his military studies, and without any idea that his fate would ever carry him into the post of an Inspector General, he had always held high views of the necessity and advantage of a good inspection service for an army. Being put in charge of the Inspection Bureau at Washington, in addition to his duties under the Secretary of War, he exerted himself to do his part towards developing and improving the service and thus to magnify his office in the best meaning of that phrase. An embarrassment to a man of his nature was that three of the officers of the department of which he was made the acting chief were his seniors in rank, but he so dealt with this subject as to be free from apprehensions of any feelings of resentment on their parts when the mutations of service should reverse, as it afterwards did, his and their positions.

Colonel Hardie well repaid to the inspection service the preferment it had given him. When assailed, as it subsequently and repeatedly was, both in and out of the army, his historical and professional studies stood it in good

stead, and brought to its defense the very kind of weapons that it had always needed and which few, from the bent of their minds, were so well fitted to handle. He would show to disputants or critics what sudden and marked changes were wrought in the discipline, economy, and efficiency of the Revolutionary army through the labors of Baron Steuben after his appointment, at the urgent request of Washington, as Inspector General of the Continental army, and referring to the elaborate and careful provision made in all European armies for the dignity, power and efficiency of the inspection department, would argue as to the existence of the same needs in our own military system. The time, patience, and labor spent by Colonel Hardie, during the last ten years of his life, on objects connected with the inspection service may, perhaps, justify what might seem like a digression if it did not tend to illustrate that conscientiousness and industry that exerted themselves upon every object deemed useful or pregnant, however lacking in the conspicuous interest required to bring the actor into notice.

In the spring of 1865 Colonel Hardie was brevetted to the rank of brigadier general upon the recommendation of Lieutenant General Grant, and was subsequently advanced to the rank of brevet major general.

An incident of General Hardie's service in the War Department, under Mr. Stanton, that gave him great pain, was the publication in a prominent New York journal that had a standing quarrel with the Secretary, of a

somewhat lengthy and detailed statement, alleging that Mr. Stanton had interferred with the religious consolations of the unfortunate Mrs. Surratt, after her conviction and sentence, by refusing a pass to her spiritual adviser to visit her, unless he would promise to be silent thenceforward with regard to his known convictions of her innocence; and that General Hardie was made the bearer of the shameful proposition. It is needless to say that this publication was a scandalous perversion and misconnection of facts and occurrences entirely blameless in themselves, and was destitute of the sanction of the worthy clergyman who was made, by a false suggestion, to stand as sponsor for it. Deeply as it wounded General Hardie, and aggravated as the wound was by the wide and prolonged currency given to the story by the press at large, and by the political uses made of it, he would have borne it in silence, had he alone been injured, but he felt so pained and indignant at the baseless attack on Mr. Stanton, whose first knowledge of the matter actually came from the slanderous article itself, and who had so often, in other cases, acted the very reverse of the manner attributed to him in the article, as General Hardie well knew, that he resorted to the distasteful means of publishing a denial of the story, and a full account of the entirely innocent circumstances out of which it had been constructed, over his own signature. This he did much more for the vindication of his superior officer than himself, but he had his own consolation in the large number of letters he received

from a variety of persons and places, some reminding him of acts he had done that might well be set circumstantially against those he was now accused of doing, and all expressing disbelief that he had done anything in the matter of Mrs. Surratt inconsistent with the character of a Christian gentleman. Some friends had not even waited for his own explanation, but had themselves undertaken his defense upon their knowledge of his character. One fact that scarcely anybody beyond Mr. Stanton and himself knew, was that, owing to his reputation as a devoted Catholic, among those belonging to that denomination, he was constantly applied to in behalf of the spiritual members and establishments of that church in the South, who hoped to escape from some of the dangers and rigors entailed upon them by the state of war through an influential presentation of their cases at Washington. General Hardie, from both conscientious and prudential motives, rarely acted upon such cases himself, as in matters of secular or non-Catholic origin, but always laid them, just as presented to him, before the Secretary of War, whose patience and liberality in dealing with them excited the surprise as well as the admiration of his subordinate, who was always prone to fear that he was wearing out his welcome when giving the least trouble to anybody. This almost confidential relation between the two officials made the assault on Mr. Stanton, which has been mentioned, seem doubly grievous to his assistant, and doubtless nerved him to the hateful task of going before the public in de-

fense of their characters. Before leaving the subject it may be well, in illustration of the nature of some of the services that General Hardie, in the manner stated, rendered to members of his church, to give the following extracts from letters addressed to him by the superiors of two convents in different parts of the country. The first extract is as follows:

"Our hospital was restored to us July 1 and all arrears paid in full. For this, many a blessing is invoked on you by grateful hearts, and the little children bless the distant benefactor whom they may never see, but whose name they will hold in benediction."

The following is the second extract:

"Memory will have failed us when we cease to be grateful for the kind and generous efforts you have made in our behalf. * * * Rest assured, at the foot of the altar where we so often assemble, the name oftenest on our lips, in petitioning for divine graces and blessings, shall be that of our kind benefactor."

In the fall of 1866, the labor of disbanding the volunteer army and of reorganizing the regular establishment having been accomplished, Secretary Stanton turned his attention to the arsenals, for the purpose of determining what stores and buildings to retain, what to sell, break up, or otherwise dispose of, and what force of operatives and other employees to continue in service. In order to accurately inform himself on these points he associated General Hardie with an artillery officer of rank and reputation in an inspection of the forts and arsenals throughout the country, and this duty, with the voluminous reports it in-

volved, occupied him for nearly six months. Meantime the examination, classification, and settlement of claims arising out of the war and the rebellion was becoming an onerous and important branch of the business connected with closing up the war, and, upon his return to Washington, General Hardie was at once placed on this service. He was appointed the agent of the Government before the special commission appointed to audit the claim of the State of Massachusetts for arming the sea-coast against the threatened raids of Confederate cruisers, and was next sent to Kansas to investigate the claims of her citizens for material, supplies, and services connected with the defensive preparations made after the Quantrell and other raids into that State. This investigation was a model of industry, patience, and ingenuity. Under the impulse of the fear caused by the Confederate raids, and owing to the want of capable and careful officers, orders had been given for supplies with reckless prodigality as to quantity and price; and, worse still, in many cases vouchers acknowledging the receipt of the goods were issued when the orders were given, and when, in fact, either the supplies were sold "to arrive," or the sellers were directed to keep them till wanted. Consequently the vouchers were of little use as evidence of facts, and it became necessary to reconstruct plans and estimates of the various barracks, stables, storehouses, and hospitals that had been erected, but long since removed, to see what material was actually used, to examine the books and papers of the claimants to

get at their actual transactions, and to take a vast number of statements and depositions of informants and witnesses. The result of this refining process was that the amounts reported by General Hardie as just and lawful were actually paid, regardless of the vouchers; though, without this separation of the accounts into good, bad, and doubtful, it is not likely that any settlement could or would have been made at all. Something of the same experience was had, at later periods of his life, with the Indian war claims of Montana and Dakota and the "Modoc claims" in Oregon, all of which were audited by General Hardie, under various acts of Congress.

In March, 1867, General Hardie succeeded the late General Canby as president of the Special Claims Commission created in the War Department, and retained that position for over two years, serving, also, part of the time, as Inspector General on the staff of the General of the Army, and being sent, in that capacity, to represent the War Department at the councils held by the Indian Peace Commissioners with the hostile bands in 1867 and 1868. In the fall of 1869, he went to Chicago to act as Inspector General of the Military Division of the Missouri, under Lieutenant General Sheridan, and began that series of inspections of the military posts and establishments which, with the addition of special assignments, finally carried him to nearly every post and depot in the Indian country and on the Pacific coast, and which did not end till 1875. He was stationed at Chicago at the time of the disastrous

fire of 1871, and being assigned to the duty of receiving and issuing the relief supplies so promptly furnished by the Government, won golden opinions from the citizens by the manner in which he performed that duty, and many other services of a kindred nature, during that time of distress and disorganization.

CHAPTER IX.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Upon the completion of an especially arduous inspection tour in 1875, involving most of the discomforts and some of the dangers of an actual campaign, in Arizona and New Mexico, General Hardie was granted a respite from field labor, and an opportunity of completing his reports and spending some time with his family at a station of his own choosing. He took up his residence at Philadelphia, and the last summer of his life—being that of 1876—was spent at Haddonfield, a pretty village near that city. His letters from this place to his intimate friends were lively and interesting, and bore evidence of the peace and domestic enjoyment he appreciated so highly after his nomadic life of several years. In July he was called to Washington, and upon reporting, was ordered to make a complete military inspection of the troops and posts in the Southern States, for the purpose of enabling the War Department to consult economy of expenditure and the capabilities of company officers in the movements and distributions about to be ordered by the political department of the Government. It was on this trip that he is thought to have caught the malarial taint that was the predisposing cause of his subsequent fatal illness. In

September, 1876, after his southern inspection was completed, he was ordered on duty in the Inspector General's Bureau at Washington, and, leaving his family to follow later in the fall, reported at once and entered upon service. He soon developed symptoms of jaundice, but supposing them to be the outcome of the malaria taken in the system on his southern trip, and which the frosts of the approaching winter would destroy, he resisted the advice of friends to resort to medical assistance, and struggled along, uncomplaining, and deprecating the anxiety of his family, who had joined him, till towards the end of the first week in December, when he took to his bed and a physician was sent for by the family without informing him. The derangement of the liver had become so acute that the physician at once detected the hopelessness of the case, but miscalculating by some days the duration of life, preserved silence for the time being.

On Wednesday, December 13, the patient was cheerful, interested in the affairs of life, and active enough to read the newspapers himself. The next day, though weaker and occasionally delirious, his condition was not alarming, and the physician, at his late evening call, found nothing to excite apprehension of an unquiet night. But soon after the physician had left, Mrs. Hardie, who was in personal attendance in the sick-room, noticed an unusual disturbance on the part of the patient, who was moving uneasily and moaning, and almost as soon as she reached the bedside, and before Mr. Connolly, an old soldier of the Third

Artillery, and for many years a faithful subordinate and companion of the General's, could fairly get in from the adjoining room, the husband of the one and old commander of the other was dead. There is no reason to believe that he anticipated a fatal result to his illness, and at the moment of death he was unconscious. But from the days of his youth upwards, and especially during the last thirty years of his life, he had so lived that let death come when and how it might, it would not find him unprepared. On his behalf, therefore, the deprivation of time and knowledge is no source of regret—it is only they whose bereavement might have been softened by anticipation and the presence of sustaining friends that demand our sympathies for an irreparable and untimely loss.

The funeral services took place at St. Matthew's Church, which General Hardie and family always attended when resident at Washington, on Sunday afternoon the 17th of December, and were as quiet, simple and sincere, as the man himself. The military escort, suitable to the rank of the deceased, which General Sherman kindly offered, was declined, and the only military feature of the funeral procession was the detachment of eight artillerymen that served as coffin-bearers at the house, the church, and the cemetery in which the remains were temporarily deposited, to be thereafter removed to the family burial place near New York. Eight pall-bearers were selected from the army and navy officers resident at Washington, at the head of whom stood two devoted and almost life-long

friends, General Sherman and Adjutant General Townsend. All that savored of display was excluded from the last, sad offices, and none but sincere mourners found inducement to share in the final duties to the earthly remains of the dead. That these were numerous is the greater tribute to the virtues of him who alone was tranquil throughout the trying scene, nor has absence prevented others, as sincere and devoted, from giving fit expression to their sorrow for him who has departed, and sympathy with those who remain. Such consolations as are possible to a stricken household, this household have in abundance—generous tributes to virtues and talents which, however modestly exercised, were yet not hid—the silent contemplation, as well as the discussion in the broken family circle, of those acts and traits that made up the sum of a life so well spent as almost to deserve the appellation of perfect, and the daily resolutions and efforts of those to whom he has left the precious legacy of a "good name among men" to so order their lives as that they may not seem unworthy beside his own.

Upon earlier pages of this volume have been spread the testimonials of distinguished officers to the merits and talents of the then Colonel Hardie, when it was thought by his immediate superiors that the time had come when he should be advanced to higher rank and a larger field of action. His death gave one more, and probably the last occasion for the formal expression by men eminent in his own profession, of their view of his military character,

and as a period of fourteen years had intervened between the two occasions, it cannot be otherwise than interesting to quote from these later testimonials in the same manner as before. The following extracts are therefore given :

"Our acquaintance began in 1839, at West Point, where we were both cadets, and from that date to the day of his death, with brief intervals, we served in the same general sphere of action, * * * so that I think I can bear the fullest testimony to his worth as a military officer and gentleman. He was always noted for his zeal and marked intelligence, self-denying and laborious."—General SHERMAN.

"General Hardie's whole history, from his entry into the army in 1843, until his death, a period of over thirty-three years, shows a conscientious devotion to every duty to which he was assigned. * * * His death was a great loss to the Government, as no one in its service was more faithful and honest."—Lieut General SHERIDAN.

"He was an officer of marked ability, and rendered most valuable service. Not only was he able, but he was also most laborious, attentive and indefatigable."—Major General MCCLELLAN.

"During his service of more than thirty years he took an honorable part in the Mexican war, in operations against hostile Indians in Washington and Oregon Territories, and in our late civil war. * * * He was entrusted with many responsible and important duties, which he performed with intelligence, zeal, and fidelity. He was an officer of irreproachable character and conduct."—Major General HANCOCK.

"My acquaintance with General Hardie commenced when he joined the First Artillery at Houlton, Maine, July '43, and continued throughout his lifetime. * * * I soon became a great admirer of his from his many noble qualities. I always found him *honorable*, *generous*, *brave*, and devoted to his profession. * * * I question if the Government ever had in its service a more conscientious and devoted servant."—Major General HOOKER.

"General Hardie's service was a peculiarly honorable and meritorious one, without being of the kind which brought his name prominently before the public. * * * In the first battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, General Burnside sent him to be near me during the day, and I can vouch for the fact that no one excelled him during that fearful fight in bravery and coolness. * * * He was as honest and conscientious an officer as ever held a commission He was a master of the military profession, and as well versed in military law and in the innumerable details of an officer's duties as any man in service. He brought all his ability to bear in the transaction of the Government business, and his example should be commended to young officers."—Major General FRANKLIN.

"I knew him well from early in 1862, when he was on duty in the Adjutant General's Department, at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, where I witnessed the faithful, conscientious and efficient manner in which he performed the duties of his position, not only acceptably to the commander of the army and chief of his own department, but to every one who had dealings at the headquarters, thus winning the confidence and esteem of all. And this same faithful, patient and efficient service he continued to the last."—Major General HUMPHREYS.

"General Hardie's death has deprived the army of an officer of large experience, thorough knowledge of our military institutions, and of the *personnel* of the army, and of a gentleman who will be remembered with honor and affection at almost every military post from the Atlantic to the Pacific."—Quartermaster General MEIGS.

CHAPTER X.

PERSONAL TRAITS AND CHARACTERISTICS.

In person, General Hardie was of prepossessing and rather distinguished appearance, of medium height and build, and, in later years, with the stoop of the scholar and sedentary. This came naturally, for the pen was seldom out of his hand except upon compulsion of duty or circumstance, or in exchange for a book. His countenance was animated and pleasing, and a slight setting forward of the ears, and a noticeable twinkling of the eyes, gave his face a humorous expression in keeping with his life-long propensity to see the amusing side of everything. This propensity, though properly kept in bounds by the force of his intellectual and moral character, was to a large extent the inducing cause of that cheerful and elastic temperament that made him so welcome and helpful a companion amid difficult and discouraging surroundings. He had a broad, intellectual forehead, and this, with the flowing military whiskers and moustache that he habitually wore, happily relieved and carried off a tendency of his features towards an overfull and fleshly look, at variance with his habits and disposition. His eyes were gray and deeply set, his nose inclined to the aquiline cast, his mouth was firm and his chin unusually broad, as well as full. His hair was light brown and his complexion florid, and he

looked the Scotchman that he was by descent on the paternal side. His manner was quiet, graceful, and unstudied. He was the most accessible of men and always interesting in conversation, though not stilted on the one hand or flippant on the other. He neither paraded his knowledge, nor drew attention to it by affecting to be ignorant. Only the studious would know him for a student and the learned for a scholar. That he was a gentleman in the nobler sense of that term a very short acquaintance would reveal, nor was he lacking in anything that pertained to the outward demeanor and appearance of one; yet so plain was he in dress and bearing that it would require more than one look at him to fix his profession or calling, or his place in society. The loftiness of his moral sentiments he could not have concealed if he would, for they were his work-a-day garments and not a mere holiday suit; but so free were his casual utterances from dogmatism that he might as readily be taken by strangers for a utilitarian as the devout religionist that he was in profession and practice. Though sincerity was a guiding principle of his intercourse with his fellow-men, the unconscious mobility of his demeanor was such that he always seemed at home in whatever society chance had for the moment placed him, and his disregard of small discomforts and vexations, and his sociability with all who observed the cardinal forms of propriety, no matter who and what they were, made him a delightful and interesting fellow-traveller. In all situations, his manner and conversation were so considerate and

helpful that, though he bore unwelcome news, the unhappy subject of his errand was glad, at least, that he had come. Those duties of benevolence and charity that he executed with the fidelity of a religious devotee he was mindful of even in his speech, and no man ever lived closer up to the benevolent axiom :

> " Count that day lost, whose low, declining sun
> Views, from thy hand, no generous action done ! "

His early ideas as to the original nobility, if not actual divinity, of human nature colored his entire intercourse with his fellow-man, and made courtesy not only a pleasing form, but a sacred duty to all, however humble, or, perchance, erring. Indeed, towards human failings of every kind he was uniformly patient and charitable, but for meanness of character, or any form of wilful, deliberate depravity, had that open and hearty detestation which was but one proof among many of his possession of the strong, Anglo-Saxon common sense that gives full play to benevolence, while keeping a firm hand upon any tendency to vapid sentimentalism.

In matters of taste, General Hardie was as robust as his way of life, his lines of study and investigation, and his intellectual bias would naturally make him. Under some circumstances he might have grown austere, but from austerity he was saved by his lively interest in human life and toil, and by that keen sense of humor to which reference has been made already. Although he readily

adapted himself to his surroundings, and could rough it with the best, and be the most cheerful of men under the most discouraging circumstances, he relished highly the quietness, grace, and dignity that always mark the presence of true gentility, and it was when enjoying these that he himself was at his best. In all matters that fall within the cognizance of taste his intuitions were wonderfully correct, and despite his isolation from the centres of civilization during the larger part of his life, and his almost incessant employment, he contrived to keep himself abreast of current knowledge throughout the domains of culture. But, then, he wasted no time upon inferior products of either art or literature, and had little patience with those who did. With the treasures of human genius overabundant, he could not brook the encouragement given to the heaping up of dross. Among the gentler arts he loved music best, and in music his taste was for the grand and solemn rather than the sweet and melodious. It was the same with poetry, to the reading of which he was not much given, though he had a fair acquaintance with and earnest appreciation of the higher poets and their loftier themes. Only once in his life did he ever copy verses, and they were some that fell under his notice but a few months before his death, and at a time when his thoughts were turned towards the theme of mortality by the sudden taking-off of a intimate friend, and a marked decline in his own health that proved to be the forerunner of his fatal disorder. The copy so made he sent to a sister of his

deceased friend with a letter of condolence, and it is characteristic of his antipathy to sentimentalism in general that he justifies the act of sending the verses, not only by hoping that they might have their little influence upon a sorrowing mind, but by calling attention to the solid earnestness and the real philosophy that set off the mere beauty of expression and balance the poetic afflatus. These verses, which were published in 1870, in the London Magazine, "St. Pauls," with only the initials J. P. to indicate the author, are appended.

UNTIL THE DAY BREAK.

Will it pain me then forever,
Will it leave me happy never,
This weary, weary, gnawing of the old, dull pain?
Will the sweet, yet bitter yearning,
That at my heart is burning,
Throb on and on forever, and forever be in vain?

O weary, weary longing!
O sad, sweet memories thronging
From the sunset-lighted woodlands of the dear and holy past!
O hope and faith undying!
Shall I never cease from sighing?
Must my lot among the shadows forevermore be cast?

Shall I never see the glory
That the Christ-knight of old story,
Sir Galahad, my hero, saw folded round his sleep?
The full completed beauty
With which God gilds dull duty
For hearts that burn towards heaven from the everlasting deep,

From the conflict ceasing never,
From the toil increasing ever,

From the hard and bitter battle with the cold and callous world ?
Will the sky grow never clearer ?
Will the hills draw never nearer
Where the golden city glitters, in its rainbow mists impearled ?

Ah me ! that golden city !
Can God, then, have no pity ?
I have sought it with such yearning for so many bitter years !
And yet the hills' blue glimmer,
And the portals' golden shimmer,
Fade ever with the evening, and the distance never nears !

O weary, weary living !
O foemen unforgiving !
O enemies that meet me on the earth and in the air !
O flesh, that clogs my yearning !
O weakness, aye returning !
Will ye never cease to trouble ? Will ye never, never, spare ?

Will my soul grow never purer ?
Will my hope be never surer ?
Will the mist-wreaths and the cliff-gates from my path be never rolled ?
Shall I never, never win it,
That last ecstatic minute,
When the journey's guerdon waits me behind the hills of gold ?

Alas ! the clouds grow darker,
And the hills loom ever starker
Across the leaden mist-screen of the heavens, dull and gray !
—Thou must learn to bear thy burden,
Thou must wait to win thy guerdon,
Until the daybreak cometh, and the shadows flee away !

In his habits, General Hardie was plain, frugal, and remarkably industrious. His hand and brain were forever busy, and recreation meant not repose, but change of employment. He was a fluent writer, as well as a prolific

one, and besides the ease and directness of his style, there were both a quaintness and liveliness of expression that made his letters always interesting to the reader. Exigencies of time and space forbid an effort to collect for publication large selections from his correspondence, but the following are given,—the first as illustrating the manner in which he met the difficulty of expressing heartfelt sympathy for a bereaved household in natural and sincere language; and the second as giving his views concerning that awful change in his own state of existence that was so soon to overtake him.

To the mother of the friend whose death has been alluded to, he writes in these terms:

"I know how very empty are words of human consolation in a trial such as yours. But, then, I want to express to you my deep sorrow that this bereavement has been sent to you, so unanticipated, and in the order of nature a calamity it would not have been expected to call on you to encounter. But your son—it should make you proud, even in the depth of your affliction to think of—was eminent in his vocation, distinguished among men, pure in his conscience; and he maintained, from first to last, too, the elevated state of a true gentleman. That such a useful and honorable man should be called early from his earthly sphere to the society of the brightest and best of our humanity, who are safe everlastingly in the enjoyment of a happiness of which, it is said, that we cannot conceive of its height; that a man so much beloved by mother and brothers and sisters and wife and children, should have so soon gone before, all is a mystery that human respect and affection cannot comprehend. But, you know, the issues of life and death are in the hands of the Creator—when He calls, we must go. At the best, a few years or a few days are very little to us, and we may find repose

in the thought that we get to the end. If we believe that there is an end worth having, surely it is the better for us.

"I do not for a moment suppose that I can measure the extent of your affliction. But I try to think it out. I have had *my* experiences. It is utterly useless to try to stop the flood of grief by anything I could say or do; I can only offer you the expression of my profound sympathies, and through you, to all who know you as their centre. * * I am sure that the beneficent Creator means this event for good. That you can see it, and that He will give you and yours strength and consolation is my sincere wish."

Of his own state of mind towards death, he thus speaks in the letter accompanying the verses lately quoted:

"I have a very keen desire to live, and I am certainly grateful that I am as well as I am. But I have been so often and so close up to death, and have *had* to face it, that I don't think it can ever alarm me. I have been looked at by a physician, indeed, and told I must die. Then shot and shell kill people, and I have had to contemplate my almost certain destruction from these.

"Not that I feel that I am better than the rest. O no! And life has always been sweet to me. There's nothing morbid about me. I have the happiest home; moderate comfort; means not large, but sufficient for the day. Yet, when the time comes, I will try to have my knapsack packed and to march off under my orders. Surely, I shall have no chance for a good post in the "ewigkeit" but in my share in the Redeemer's wonderful scheme of humanity's redemption; yet, surely, I will trust my luck.

"Now, this dread idea of death—an event which, as a fact, is recognized as certain by people, but hardly ever realized—sets us all astray. But if Christianity amounts to "a row of pins," why shouldn't we *want* to go to a place where we are better off than we are here, when we have got through our task here? Is Christianity a failure? To us?

"This is a life of trouble, anyway, and we have to stand trouble to the end. I just now feel, in these days of accusation, when every blackmailer can assail one, that my trust in the future is a happier foundation for a reasonable condition of comfort than

my confidence in the present. I think, even, I would like to get out." * * *

In his public correspondence he was not always so plain and felicitous as in his private writings. He seemed apprehensive that words used by him in one sense might be taken in another, or inferences drawn from them that he had no thought of suggesting, and that somebody might be pained or prejudiced thereby without his intending it in the least; hence, in the effort to make his phrases and sentences absolutely unmistakable and innocuous, he would change and refine them till their pith and point were oft-times gone. Still, this dilution of the style, when it occurred, never extended to the matter itself, and his official papers were always models in the sense of exhibiting masterly knowledge of the subjects to which they related, and clear conceptions of the relations of cause and effect as connected with them. Where, too, the topics discussed were such as gave no occasion for such fears as just described, the style was as easy, direct, and flowing as the most hypercritical taste could desire. This literary blemish, if it may rightly be so called, was due to the reflex action of his own super-sensitive mind, which made him so quick to feel criticism or reproach, that an unguarded word or gesture from a superior, or one of any rank whom he held in esteem, threw him at once off the balance established by his even, cheerful temper, and made him wretched. Closely connected with this delicate trait of character was the scrupulous and sincere respect that he always paid to

authority of any grade or form. He often lamented the decline of authority, not only in matters of faith, but matters of government also, and feared that it was loosening the bonds of society as well as religion. He contended that it was better for men to sometimes bestow their allegiance unwisely than to lose the habit of allegiance altogether.

General Hardie was endowed by nature with rare intellectual powers, which he improved by sedulous cultivation all his life. His knowledge was not only extensive, but always solid, and, in respect to those subjects in which he took a professional or personal interest, usually profound. His memory, though not phenomenal, was good, and he possessed the higher faculty of so applying his reason to the analysis and concentration of whatever came within the range of his observation or hearing, as to have the virtual command, at any moment, of all he ever knew upon a given subject. Indeed, it was a frequent experience to find himself so embarrassed with material for argument or illustration, drawn from memory, or gleaned by his wonderful industry in research and accumulation, as to be unable to use it all within the limits of the topic in hand. Hence his writings were never padded with empty words, even if otherwise defective. With regard to the art of reasoning, his preference was for the synthetical over the analytical method, and he often remarked that the synthetical was the method of great intellects and great results, while the analytical was the method of plodding, if useful, minds. His mental bias was realistic rather than imagin-

ative, and his dogged conservatism on all matters connected with the problems of human life was little lesss than maddening to enthusiasts and reformers generally. He contended, with respect to the human mind and conscience, that mankind would continue to be impelled by the same desires, restrained by the same fears, and controlled by the same agencies as of old, modified only in degree and not in kind, or in form and not in substance, and that the growth and spread of religious infidelity was dangerous to the body politic, in undermining the ancient foundations of society without putting anything solid and adaptable in their places. He had no faith in the earthly millenium which so many anticipate as the ultimate, occult consequence of the vast intellectual movements now in progress, and though he kept himself in line with the scientists in the onward march of their methods and discoveries, he declined to take part in the projection of the scientific mind beyond the visible and firm ground of fact. His commentary upon the famous Belfast address of Professor Tyndall was that when it came to going beyond demonstrative knowledge and taking to faith, he preferred the old faith, which, apart from the respect due to its age, had more of hope and consolation in it for human kind than anything he had been able to discern in the newly-evolved "scientific creeds." As illustrative of his sympathy for human life as it is, it may be mentioned that his interest in scientific progress was always most active with regard to inventions and discoveries calculated to

ameliorate the lot of man in his earthly state, as we now know it, and he often spoke of the probability of the electric force proving to be the beneficient agent of the near future for lightening the toils and multiplying the physical blessings of mankind. An amusing instance of his persistency in taking an earthly view of human motives is connected with the secession of the once famous Perè Hyacinth, from the Catholic church. To a friend who sought to obtain his view of the origin and result of what was then the nine days' wonder of the secular as well as the religious world, he made answer in about the following words: "The explanation is easy enough. It has happened with the perè as with others of his kind before him. There is a woman in the case. He wants to marry, and is raising a dust of controversy to cover his real motive. He'll get married, and that will be the end of him and his new church." From this purely human and abased view of the matter he refused to be moved, nor would he discuss the subject further, and so soon did the perè turn himself into a husband, and his critic into a prophet, that the trouble of refusing to talk about the matter was soon spared to the latter.

Two qualities of General Hardie's mind deserve some notice, as they were chiefly instrumental, it is believed, in preventing him from reaching to that degree of eminence outside the ranks of his own profession that his character and talent earned for him within it. The first was a shyness or self-distrust, that would not only have restrained

him from pushing himself into notice in any immodest or unduly selfish manner in the absence of any higher restraint, but which kept him back from that degree of self-seeking which is universally regarded as natural and proper when both the objects and the means pursued are honorable. Except where his professional or personal reputation was concerned, he was not a self-regarding man, but seemed always content to do his whole duty in whatever station he might be called to fill, and, having thus satisfied his conscience, to leave all else to Providence and those set over him in authority. Such preferment as he got usually came to him unsolicited and unexpected, and there are instances in his career where he retired, or attempted to retire, from advantageous positions which he thought he could not hold consistently with honor. One such instance is notable as occurring in his younger days, when such ambition as a man has is strongest, and apt to outweigh more delicate sensibilities. He sought to resign the adjutantcy of his regiment and return to a lower place in the line, because he suspected that the regimental commander, who had selected him for that position, had been supplanted in the command by means not entirely open and fair, and he only abandoned the design when the new commandant at headquarters, apparently won by the frankness and sensitiveness of the young officer, condescended to vindicate himself from suspicions which, however plausible, were unfounded. This incident, too, furnished an early but not the only proof that its subject neither worshipped the rising

sun, nor turned his back upon the sun that was declining. The other quality referred to as having an appreciable influence in keeping him back from opportunities of public distinction was a mental timidity that made him shrink from venturing what he had for the prospect of gaining by the venture. It is possible that the crash of his father's fortunes, at an age when he was young enough to receive a lasting impression of its consequences, may have had something to do with this bent of his mind; but whatever the cause, it is certain that his aversion to speculative enterprises and experiments generally was marked in his own conduct and his counsel to others. Had these mental qualities of shyness and timidity been unbalanced by those other qualities of mind and heart that made him cheerful and contented in toiling on zealously in whatsoever situation fate had placed him, he might have chafed at the limits set to the exercise of his industry and talent, and the results derivable therefrom, and so have substituted a morose and ignoble existence for the full, rounded, and edifying life that he really lived.

The fact has escaped mention in a more appropriate place that, in his early years, General Hardie was destined for the profession of the law and his youthful studies were that way directed. All his life he was a lover and student of that lofty science, and his legal attainments were such as to command the attention and respect of men eminent in their vocation as lawyers.

General Hardie's life was so much influenced by his

religious character that any account of him, however brief, would be incomplete without some mention of it. From his boyhood he was pious and always interested in the outward observances of religion. His father was a member of the Episcopal congregation of Grace Church, New York, and the son also joined the same communion. His musical and artistic tastes were gratified by the ceremonies and customs of the Episcopal church, and the same tastes led him to favor the ritualistic movements then beginning to be active. A visit of the famous Dr. Pusey to West Point while he was a cadet had a powerful influence in wedding him to the views of that eminent divine, and as with so many of the latter's followers, the route pursued led him at last into the communion of the Catholic church. His open adherence to that church did not occur till he had thoroughly satisfied the demands of his mind and conscience as to the wisdom and righteousness of the step, and he entered it so fully prepared and persuaded, that the mental peace and happiness that it brought him were never thereafter marred by a doubt or regret. Being always religious, as well as high-minded, no radical change in his outward life was wrought by his public profession of Catholicism, but his intellectual activities were quickened in the investigation of religious truth, and he busied himself in religious enterprises and sought the companionship and correspondence of pious Catholics, both among the clergy and laity. With many such men he formed life-long friendships and the records of these intimacies bear

convincing testimony to the sincerity, purity, and fervor of his and their religious characters. An extract from a letter sent him by a former fellow cadet at West Point, in 1850, in answer to a request for information upon some religious subject, will admirably suggest the kind of men and the topics that engaged his affections after his profession of the Catholic faith. After referring him to some other co-religionist, the letter continues:

"If my present condition justified my dictating any instructions, I would gladly do it, but the state of my lungs will not permit it. I am lingering out my existence here and expect only to live a few days longer. You must pray for me, especially after I am dead, and when I get to heaven I will take care not to forget you."

Some readers of this little volume may gain a new idea of the life and character of the Catholic clergy, from a perusal of the following charming letter from one of that profession:

"East Boston, *December* 20, 1856.

"My Dear Captain H.

"Delighted I am to hear of your address, and more, of the excellent health enjoyed by yourself and amiable partner; and as to the little ones,—I know not how many,—may every blessing, spiritual and temporal, be with you. Had I written as often as prayed that success might attend your every movement, you would have a folio ere this. It is only now I learned of your location, though sometime since I heard with joy of your promotion.

"You perceive that I, too, write from another quarter, but still working on in the same sphere. Born with a little bit of a mallet, my forte seems to be pioneering; still thumping among stone and mortar. All having been completed at Newport, quite unexpectedly to myself, I was requested by authority to

remove to this city to undertake another church. Upon this, I have amused myself for the past sixteen months and have taken possession. The congregation being about five thousand, the church just completed, is of course larger than that of Newport, and though Gothic, and of solid material—granite—it is of early pointed style, and consequently admits of less ornament; though it is pronounced the handsomest building in the city. That may be for others to look upon, but in reality, "our Lady of the Isle," is the gem. Too happy and comfortable was I, a wretched sinner, to be permitted to remain at that quiet, lovely, retired island home.

"If, in the estimation of others, I was needed here, my good fortune in the exchange added fifty-odd thousand dollars to my credit as financier, as I found that debt was to be assumed soon after my exchange. So thus am I doomed to pick up the load of others and move onwards; and when, with a little disappointment I told the Bishop of my surprise, he looked very complacently, and kindly said: Oh! You'll put it through!

"Well! well! and this is all *ego, ego*, as usual. But what of your family and numbers? How like you California? Would that I was permitted to look upon you all once more! And who knows what changes may be yet *in futuro?*

"Of our mutual friend Rosé I have not heard for a long, long while, nor do I know of his whereabouts, but wherever he may be, he is indomitable in his perseverance of well doing—I know he must be.

"Do at some leisure moment let us hear from you; while, with dearest remembrances, I remain, sincerely,

"_____ _____."

The journals left by General Hardie contain fragments of a study on the religious basis of the civil power as the only valid claim to obedience, but his democratic principles were strong enough to qualify the position taken by requiring likewise the consent of the governed. He published also, while in California, an article in the

"Freeman's Journal" of New York, on the oppressive bearing upon the consciences of the Catholic soldiers, who constituted so large a part of the rank and file of the army, of the regulations concerning attendance upon divine worship, and the custom of appointing permanent post chaplains and choosing them exclusively from Protestant denominations. No Catholic could write on such a subject with a freer conscience than himself, for bigotry never found a lodgment in his constitution. He gave to merit and sincerity all that they were worth, and was notably free from prejudices of race or religion. His friendships were among men of all beliefs and opinions and he never in the slightest degree infringed upon that freedom of conscience and religious choice that he regarded as among the greatest of temporal blessings. Some friends, not Catholics, and among them the writer of this Memoir, have at times wondered how a man of such liberality, independence, and learning managed to submit himself to what they had been taught to regard as the dogmatic tyranny of an oligarchy of priests, and what his account of his experiences and feelings about it would be if he ever revealed them. Happily for his sincerity and intellectual fame he did commit them briefly to paper a few months before his death in a letter to a valued friend in whom he seemed to have discovered the existence of the curiosity above mentioned. In the belief that the publication of this letter to his friends who are to be the readers of this Memoir is the readiest and most satisfactory way

of doing him justice in respect to the most important and delicate act of judgment to be exercised in respect to his character, all the material and relevant parts of the letter are here given.

In seeming reply to a criticism upon the dogma of the papal infallibility, and the compulsory force of dogmas generally, he says :

" Now, as to the power of the church, there is no more tyranny in the being obliged to submit to the truth as one sees it in religion, than there is in your being obliged to recognize mathematical truth in the multiplication table. Practical experience exhibits the entire freedom otherwise of the Catholic organization, so far as the laity is concerned. No priest or bishop ever spoke politics to me in all my life, unless we might meet socially and an opinion might be expressed. The papal infallibility is only the insisting of a decision of the head of the supreme bench of the church being binding, when the case is formally brought up. In administration, the Pope may make mistakes, and he does so, I know, in some instances, in ecclesiastical appointments. It is only in faith and morals, where there *must* be doubts and where there *must* be the right to settle them in the organization, that the authority to settle questions is confined to the head of the church. There is a charming freedom in worship ; nobody pays attention to anybody else. There are no social tyrannies in the case.

"That human motives control human actions in the use or abuse of authority in the case of the clergy is certainly true. But the history of all denominations shows that grace does'nt always prevail over the carnalism of our poor nature, however high may be our place in the sanctuary. * * * Indeed, if the beauty of Catholicism hadn't been besmirched by the unworthiness of the clergy and laity often, and by the intrusion into its administration of secularism—often a necessity of charity originally, and then crystallized upon its organization as a matter of course—there would have been no ' *raison d'être* ' for any separation. It is for

every Catholic to say '*mea culpa! mea culpa! mea maxima culpa!*' If from the time of the first Bishop of Rome we had done our square work, we should not, in our old age, be naked before our enemies. The fact is, there is too much of small truth told against us, and we must reap the harvest.

"But, after all, we believe in the efficacy of the Saviour's most condescendingly generous mission, and we believe that his blood, so copiously and lovingly poured out for our miserable humanity's redemption, was not poured out in vain. We believe that *He* has not been a failure, and most of us mean to do what He has directed, even in ever so poor a way, sometimes very badly, sometimes not at all, but always getting up when we fall and starting anew. And so we believe God will save us, if *we* mean salvation."

His rejection of the scientific creeds of the present day has been mentioned some pages back, and in the letter now before us he alludes to them in the following words:

"Now, about belief, what I think is simply this,—the trouble is not that some believe too little, and others believe what many think is too much, but that most are getting not to believe at all; God is left out of his own creation. There are no moral standards better than those of the Spartans set up among the most honorable of the non-believers and the scientists now accepted as teachers. Think! what will be the condition of a society which knows not God and His laws, in half a century? Naturally go back to the times of old Pagan Rome with its nameless infamies in personal life and the social organization."

It is probable that among the influences that contributed to the bringing in of General Hardie to the Catholic fold was his personal experience and observation of the piety, zeal, and devotion of the missionary priests who had been for so many decades laborers and even martyrs among the

Indian tribes of the Northwest, and certainly if anything can inspire trust in the Christian faith as worked out in the Catholic organization it is a view of the labors and achievements of the Jesuit missions among the North American Indians. One of his long time and close friends among these missionaries was the well known and venerated Father De Smet, through whose personal solicitation of the Pope in 1865 he received some of those marks of religious favor that are so gratifying to pious and devout Catholics whose virtues are thus recognized.

The moral constitution of General Hardie would have made him generous and charitable, whatever his religious creed, but what, in the absence of religious feelings, might have been a mere intellectual gratification became, as well, a pious duty. He never turned away a street beggar empty-handed, lest, as he explained in self defense, he might in his ignorance fail in giving to the worthy. As a friend who knew him thoroughly fervidly expresses it, "he wanted always to do and to be right." At one time when the public necessity had led to the most stringent orders from the Secretary of War against the further discharge of soldiers on any grounds other than expiration of service or disability, he took such pity upon a poor woman who had found her way to the War Department upon what seemed to be a hopeless errand, that, not venturing to incur the risk of a personal rebuff, he sent the following message to the Secretary's private room, written on an envelope:

"There is a woman, sick and poor, in the room here, who has four sons in the military and naval service. She begs, for the sake of charity, to let the youngest go. Shall I do it? It seems so hard a case that I cannot resist this appeal."

The answer came out at once to discharge the boy and the poor woman was sent off rejoicing.

Here, in the contemplation of that noblest of the Christian virtues, Charity, fittingly may end this brief but earnest tribute to the memory of a man whom it would not have been unseemly to call great, had not the ambition and greed of mankind resulted in restricting the ordinary use of that term to its lower and narrower meanings. For what has written the fervent pen of Channing, himself incontestably great in every meaning of the word?

"There are different orders of greatness. Among these, the first rank is unquestionably due to *moral* greatness, or magnanimity, that sublime energy by which the soul, smitten with the love of virtue, binds itself indissolubly, for life and death, to truth and duty; espouses as its own the interests of human nature; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; hears in its own conscience a voice louder than threatenings and thunders; withstands all the powers of the universe which would sever it from the cause of freedom and religion; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour, and is ever ready to be offered upon the altar of its country or of mankind"

For this sublime study of true greatness, the man whose name adorns these pages might have stood as the living and complete model. And—to use his own words—"that such a useful and honorable man should be called early from his earthly sphere" would be a profounder source of

grief than those who knew and loved him now feel it, were it not for the consoling reflection that only the inferior and the perishable parts of him are lost to earth, while the better and the lasting parts remain to them and to mankind. All that he ever bestowed upon his fellow-men of help, encouragement, sympathy, and example is as potent as when he dwelt among them, and the countless influences that went out from him while he lived will not perish now that he is dead. These comforting thoughts, struggling for means of expression, will find none more eloquent or fitting than in these words of another great divine, who, for the solace and inspiration of the living, made himself the masterly interpreter of the Voices of the Dead:

"The friend with whom we took sweet counsel is removed visibly from the outward eye; but the lessons that he taught, the grand sentiments that he uttered, the holy deeds of generosity by which he was characterized, the moral lineaments and likeness of the man, still survive, and appear in the silence of eventide, and on the tablets of memory, and in the light of morn and noon and dewy eve; and being dead, he yet speaks eloquently and in the midst of us."

THE END.

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